The Commonweal

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FIGHTING CORRUPTION

The Douglas Report

EDWARD S. SKILLIN

The 'Patriots' and the 'Controversial Figures'

FRANCIS DOWNING

My Book on Therese Neumann

HILDA C. GRAEF

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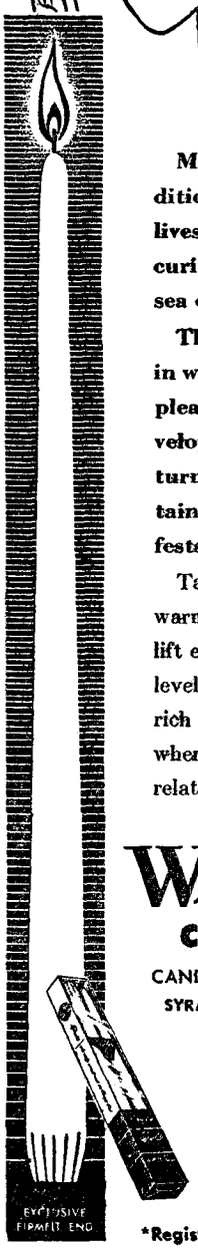

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The Commonweal

WEEK BY WEEK

Egypt Station

THE Suez Canal crisis reveals a pattern that is becoming disturbingly familiar in the Middle East and throughout the Moslem world. The poverty of the masses is extreme; a small well-to-do ruling class continues to exploit and neglect them. By striking an anti-British and anti-western pose the ruling Wafd Party has diverted attention from its own misdeeds and gross negligence and has temporarily won the united support of the people.

To arouse such passions among a people as resentful and excitable as these Moslems is always a hazardous procedure. There is no telling what violence it will lead to. But whereas in Iran the Mossadegh regime actually forced the British technicians out, the Egyptians are faced with the task of ousting a strong contingent of the British Army. Passions have been aroused with very little chance of satisfying them. Continuing disorders would seem to be the only immediate prospect.

As the Egyptian Army is poorly equipped, and only so recently as the war with Israel has failed to give a good account of itself, there remain but two other possibilities. The first is the United Nations, the second Soviet Russia. Apparently Britain is on such firm ground as regards her treaty embodying defense of the Suez Canal and joint administration of the Sudan that an adverse decision on the part of the UN is unlikely. The British are in fact opposing Egyptian plans to absorb the Sudan on the grounds that the Sudanese should decide their own political destiny for themselves.

In the heat of the struggle certain of the Egyptian extremists are openly advocating a treaty of peace and friendship with the Soviet Union, cleverly recalling that the British themselves did not hesitate to join up with Stalin to defeat a common foe. It is not at all certain at this juncture that support for such a step in Cairo would last. But even supposing an outright alliance with the USSR, the ousting of the British without a war is difficult to envisage.

With India independent and much of the Empire gone, the Suez Canal no longer boasts quite the strategic importance for the British alone as it once did. But with the prospect of a global war, one that can be ignored only with extreme peril, its strategic importance is even greater than before. What was once the vital spot for Britain has become a key area in the whole West defense system—where open communications and strategic naval and air bases cannot be relinquished.

Hence the unhappy situation of having to maintain order in the Canal Zone and its approaches in the face of angry native opposition. There will be continual outbursts, acts of terrorism, sabotage, loss of life. It can hardly be otherwise for the moment.

But can the West be content to leave it at that? We are all responsible in varying degrees for the passions that are seething in Egypt and other former colonies. If we do not take the well-indicated steps of a Point IV character, our responsibility will increase.

ON THE political side the status of Suez should be modified in accordance with its new international importance. The British should no longer have the sole burden of its defense. They should likewise be prevailed upon to enter into negotiations with Cairo in order to arrive at a new and less one-sided relationship. Eventually the Government of Egypt must have a chance to reconsider its refusal to join France, Britain, Turkey and the United States in defense of the Eastern Mediterranean. Egypt was invited as an equal; yet her treaty relationship with Britain makes her a distinct subordinate. But popular unrest, now stirred to a new pitch, will not be long assuaged by even the most sweeping diplomatic gestures.

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A Vatican Ambassador?

THE surprise nomination of General Mark Clark as Ambassador to Vatican City is a political question, in more than one sense. It is no secret that criticism of Mr. Truman's foreign policy and the charges of Senator Joe McCarthy have had their effect on large numbers of Catholic voters. Whether the President's move was primarily, or even importantly, motivated by these considerations must remain a big question mark.

Mr. Truman must have known that the nomination was sure to arouse bitter antagonism in another large group of Americans and that whatever would be gained in one quarter would be lost in another. But the President is not one to drop hot potatoes. Despite the charges of "crude political maneuvering" which have been levelled against him from many Protestant pulpits, it seems highly probable that Truman was, as he said, moved mainly by a desire to cooperate with the Vatican's peace efforts and to regularize US relations with an important ally in the anti-Communist efforts of this country. Mr. Truman described himself as acting "in the national interest." It is on this basis that the significance of General Clark's nomination must be weighed.

Is it in the national interest for the United States to have an Ambassador at Vatican City? On practical political grounds, almost everyone is agreed that the answer is yes. Some of Mr. Truman's critics have suggested that liaison with the Vatican be informally maintained by our Ambassador to Italy, and some have argued that it is petty of the Holy See to insist on full diplomatic recognition, though so far no one has offered evidence of such insistence. The Vatican, it is said, should freely work with the US government but without formal diplomatic ties. Even these arguments imply that there is something to be gained for the United States from contact with the Vatican.

It seems unlikely that such an open recognition of mutual interests as reestablishing formal representation (until the 1860's the US and the Holy See exchanged ministers) would mean that the US would suffer undue influence from a foreign government. But if there were any, we would—and should—of course, withdraw our Ambassador.

What Mr. Truman suggests is that we carry on our relations with Vatican City as we do with England, Russia, France, friend and enemy alike, according to proper procedure. Vatican City is a sovereign state, a political entity; formal diplomacy is the normal means of communication between sovereign states. It is that simple.

As long as the US Government recognizes Vatican City as a sovereign state (and if it isn't that, what is it? Ask the Jews who were protected within its boundaries while the Nazis held Rome), Mr. Truman and his case for formal recognition have logic on their side. If the US chooses not to recognize the Vatican's political sovereignty, then no liaison between the two should be tolerated since this would clearly be something less than separation of Church and State.

So the second big point of debate: Should the United States deny the political status of Vatican City, either because the ecclesiastical nature of such a state is repellent to large numbers of Americans, by reason of their religious beliefs, or because its political Sovereign exercises spiritual, *not political,* authority over millions of American citizens in his capacity as Bishop of Rome?

Up to this point, the United States, like the other nations of the world, has accepted the temporal realm of the Pope as a political *fact.* Both Hitler and the Allies respected the autonomy of Vatican City during the war, and the Allies clearly profited from it. For 1,200 years the Pope's temporal power has been a fact. The present Vatican City with its sovereignty, population, territory and government conforms to every international understanding of a State. Its sovereignty, its population, its territory and its government are all clearly confined to its boundaries. They are completely distinct from the United States and the citizens of the United States, including the twenty-odd million Catholics in this country.

The present status of Vatican City, paradox-

• NEXT WEEK •

WALDEMAR GURIAN writes about the conditions he encountered in Germany this summer.

Dr. Gurian tells of a growing sentiment for national rearmament but also says that "it would be wrong to overlook the great influence which the rearmament issue has and will have on internal developments in Germany. . . . Plans for the re-appearance of a German army have caused a profound psychological crisis there. The Allies are taken less and less seriously. There is an increasing resort to cynical jokes about their democracy, their doctrines, their propaganda."

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ically enough, may be called a major advance for the separation of Church and State. It protects the Pope and the government of the worldwide Church from political interference (again the Second World War may be cited) and by the same token protects the governments of the world from undue ecclesiastical interference. It has solved many age-old problems for the governance of both Church and State.

Whatever one thinks of the arrangement, the sovereignty of Vatican City is a *fact,* a political fact in the political world. As such it is presently recognized by the thirty-seven countries—representing every religious belief and none—which maintain Vatican City embassies. These nations include every major power but the US and the USSR.

By formally recognizing the sovereignty of Vatican City, it is charged, the US will be flouting its tradition of Church-State separation. But unless the Government does recognize that political sovereignty, we submit, any liaison between the US and the Vatican is seriously open to question, since then it clearly becomes not an inter-political exchange but a Church-State relationship.

So the question seems to be: Does the United States need and want political contact with the Vatican at this time? If the answer is yes, then formal recognition of Vatican City would seem to be imperative; such a liaison would be the only one in conformity with the American doctrine of Church-State separation. We would clearly be dealing with the Vatican as a political not an ecclesiastical force in that case. If the answer is no, for whatever reason, then no substitute for a full Ambassador is logically acceptable.

The answer, of course, should be the people's. It is the President's prerogative to nominate such diplomats as he chooses. But on such a controversial issue, the voice of the people should be heard and reflected in Congress' eventual action on the matter.

It is to be hoped that when the members of Congress weigh the pro and con of popular opinion on this question they will not be unduly impressed by religious leaders, Protestant or Catholic, whose very vehemence is a give-away that their interest in the question is not primarily political and patriotic but sectarian and "religious" in the narrow sense of the word. It is to be hoped that whatever eventual decision is reached it will be a "popular" one, in the sense that it represents majority opinion. Responsible Protestant and Catholic leaders, in that case, will both accept it with good grace.

Red Herring

ON THE one hand the International Refugee Organization has just settled its one millionth refugee—a former estate manager for a Slovakian count, who, with his family, is bound for Midland, Texas, where he has a job as a gardener and handyman. On the other, Western Europe still has a surplus population of five-and-one-half millions.

By the end of this year the IRO will terminate its field operations. The hope that the International Labor Office could carry on from there was dashed at the migration conference recently concluded at Naples. Representatives of twenty-seven nations were in attendance, but the United States took the lead in killing a gradual five-year plan for the resettlement of 1,700,000 Europeans.

The reason was the membership of six Communist countries (the satellites and Yugoslavia) in the International Labor Office, whose headquarters is at Geneva and whose governing body is comprised of 16 non-Communist governments and 16 worker and employer representatives. A House-Senate report had bound the American delegation at Naples beforehand; they were unable to support a plan which involved appropriations to a body which included Communist members, even as a tiny minority.

One of the most important contingents at the Naples conference was made up from international welfare agencies. These, with a number of technical experts, contributed the results of their extensive first-hand experience in resettling displaced persons and other refugees. James Norris of the National Catholic Welfare Conference spoke for many of these vitally interested delegates when he said that during the past five years "the private agencies have helped hundreds of thousands of refugees to find new homes, but without an international agency such as the IRO, these efforts would have fallen far short of the results obtained." Plans for migration of refugees during the next five years had been based on the designation of the International Labor Office as the supervising and coordinating refugee agency.

What will be the next American move? Our stake in European revival is as pressing as ever. There is the drawback of surplus people in Europe with a number of underpopulated lands

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throughout the globe. There are millions of anti-totalitarians with talents, skills and a determination to make the most of a chance for a new start in life. The ILO plan was jettisoned despite the support of Britain, West Germany, Norway and Denmark because the United States would not permit our earmarked $10,000,000 to be administered by this organization. The consultative body set up instead would leave all operations to individual interested governments. That means tragic inaction, fatal delay.

'Situations of Strength'

AT THE present time perhaps the most fundamental underlying assumption of American foreign policy is that when our military power is built up to such a point that Soviet Russia cannot safely afford to challenge us, we will then be in a position to negotiate with the Russians and to settle our differences with them without a recourse to war. We have not yet reached that point of strength, but we are approaching it, and as we do, the question of whether or not we can actually negotiate with the Russians begins to assume a more urgent importance. After all, if negotiation is impossible, our policy fails and war is then more likely.

Take, for example, the matter of Germany. At some time or other that country must be reunited and fitted into its place in the normal life of an international society of nations. The West proposes to do this by calling for free elections to permit the German people to choose their own government; the Communist East simply cannot allow free elections, and that's that. How are we to negotiate so fundamental a difference? In a related way, the same question applies to Korea, where the drawn-out truce talks have by this time worn almost everyone's nerves thin.

What we are finding out, of course, is that we are involved in a conflict of absolutes and that it is a bit hard to sit down and negotiate absolute differences.

The dim and difficult prospect of doing so has led some of our countrymen to be impatient, and to suggest that we cut the small talk and begin to twist the enemy's arm a little tighter; in fact, there does not seem to be much thought at all given to the prospect of our actually negotiating with the Russians.

It may be argued that it is too soon to worry about that problem, since negotiation is still very likely a long way off. Some students of the situation expect the cold war, this agreement to disagree, to go on as it is now for several more decades. Negotiation itself may in fact be a matter for the future, but planning for negotiation cannot be put off. If we have learned one impressive lesson from the present uprising throughout the Near East, it is that we waited until it was too late to devise an adequate policy for that area and now we are paying for our lack of foresight when we can least afford to pay.

That can happen again, in all our efforts to negotiate peaceful settlements, unless we are ready to bargain from a strong position. So far as bargaining with the Russians is concerned, it is a grave mistake to think that our bargaining position is safe and sound as long as our military position is strong. There are obviously other factors to be considered besides the military one. If, for instance, in negotiating the re-unification of Germany, we find that the people of Western Germany are restive and unhappy due to unemployment, food shortages and the lack of better prospects, our position will be weak because the Germans, our potential allies, will have only a lukewarm will to resist and the Russians are going to know it.

The same applies everywhere around the world. Unless we give the Iranians and the Egyptians, the Indians, Indonesians and the Communist-ridden, ill-fed populations of Western Europe some prospect of healthy national sovereignty and some chance of raising their standards of living to a par with that enjoyed by the average Westerner, these peoples are not likely to be with us when the day for bargaining with the Russians does come.

The day has already come for the United States to think beyond the Atlantic Pact. The time has come to draw the free nations together —perhaps on a basis similar to the Atlantic Pact —to discuss a closer economic and social alliance of the free nations and to do so in a way that will permit every nation to participate as a partner, not a pawn. In this way the exchange of technical and cultural knowledge, of properly regulated capital investment, of relief where necessary and, in general, of cooperation in every possible field, may go forward rapidly among the free nations.

If the other free nations have a reason to hope, if they are with us in a partnership and not under us, there is indeed a good chance that such an association of nations will have the energy and the heart to force a just negotiation on the Russians and to save our foreign policy from failure and the world from war.

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Fighting Corruption

The Douglas Report and the necessity for local initiative

By EDWARD S. SKILLIN

THE revelations of misconduct in office and tie-ups with crime that have regaled Americans in the past eight months have been abundant enough to raise doubts about the nation's political integrity. Is what we have recently confronted just the small portion of the iceberg which protrudes above the water? Or has the bulk of our notorious political misdeeds now come to light? Most commentators who tackle this subject, which is so painful except for those who seek to make political capital out of it, tend to agree with the Douglas Sub-Committee on Ethical Standards in Government that, generally speaking, our public servants are upright men.

Few will deny, however, that a prospect which includes city political heads beholden to notorious gangsters, Internal Revenue agents resigning under fire, lavish gratuities for lobbyists and five-percenters and the oversubsidizing of certain businesses and farm interests calls for remedial action. The first step is to examine some of the causes for this lamentable state of things.

One of the first is the American method of financing political campaigns. Either the candidate is enormously wealthy or, as in virtually every case, under compulsion to raise sizable funds to meet expenses. Therefore it is hardly surprising that wealthy individuals and business interests have key roles in financing electoral campaigns. No *quid pro quo* whatever may be explicitly involved, but political debts are inevitably built up. Hence government contracts and appointments to office.

★

GOVERNMENT contracts have come to be of increasing importance to American businessmen. The first upturn was noted in the various New Deal attempts to revive the national economy in the early thirties. Then came rearmament and World War II. Now we have the cold war and another large-scale rearmament. Moreover, efforts to aid the American farmer in the early days of the New Deal have developed into a vast program of commodities payments, heavy beneficiaries of which are wealthy growers and agricultural corporations. Government contracts and government subsidies constitute a key factor for many American enterprises.

The most disquieting of all recent disclosures is the hold which gangsters have over local city governments. The collaboration between local police and vice and gambling interests, unsolved acts of violence and the fact that some notorious mobsters have less to fear from the law than from their rivals in crime comprise one element. Another is the fact that men of this stamp have a say on appointments to office.

On the national terrain, and in Washington, specifically, lobbyists play a preponderant role. There is nothing essentially sinister about lobbying, perhaps. It is an institution which often supplies useful information to Congressional committees. The theory is that if each special interest presents the best case it can, Congress has the material on which to make good decisions. But where is the lobby effectively representing the public interest in these matters?

To cap it all our civil services are so circumscribed that they do not extend to many important offices. There is no extensive pool of trained civil servants available for government office. Appointments of amateurs pay off political debts. And when national defense brings a number of executives to Washington as dollar-a-year men, they often remain on their company payroll.

★

PERHAPS the quickest way to grasp the way government has expanded in the United States is to compare the present federal budget with the figures for twenty years ago. Even if defense items were omitted (and they must be retained as affecting the picture) it would be apparent that Washington is now operating on an entirely different scale. There are the vast ramifications stemming from our version of the "welfare state." There is a pension item which includes billions for war veterans alone. "Big Government" is an imposing if terrifying actuality.

Its rate of acceleration has been considerably lower, but American business during the past two decades has also been merging and expanding at a steady pace. Big Business is more than ever the hallmark of American enterprise.

Faced with these two giants, the individual citizen and consumer grows increasingly aware of his powerlessness. When a man finds no effective way of making his demands felt, he tends to

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shrug his shoulders. The venal politician and the unrestrained criminal have little to fear from unorganized public opinion.

There remains the ballot box, where theoretically, every two or four years, the American people have a chance to make their weight of numbers felt. A century ago nothing was so passionately entered into as a presidential campaign. Party politics was almost a religion; children by the hundreds were christened with the names of presidential candidates. Today we are more knowing and less impassioned.

A lesser degree of passion may produce clearer perception of candidates and issues, but it has resulted in widespread abstentions on Election Day. The individual voter seldom knows much about the character and connections of the candidates set before him. His vote is often blind. Observers tell us that the European worker plays a very minor role in politics because he is forced to concentrate his limited energies on providing the barest necessities of existence for his family. But American citizens are not noted for their participation in politics, even though they are comparatively well-fed.

★

BACK of all these institutional reasons for our political failings there is something that is even more fundamental. I refer to the dominant American philosophy of life. Success in the world is what matters—whether it be school and college sports, best sellers, hit parades, Hooper ratings, brand names or a man's career. Success takes precedence above all else.

With dominant materialism as a background there is little wonder that no great outcry has confronted the efforts of lobbyists and politicians to get ahead. There have been sporadic scoldings from the pulpits of our various churches, but the public conscience has laid dormant. The extensive diversity of the nation's religious bodies —and the growth of religious indifferentism and the number of the churchless—has made it difficult for these moral forces to assert themselves effectively as mentors for political life.

Moreover the close cooperation between churches and political machines in certain large cities and states has deprived the voice of religion of much of its potentially salutary effects. For differences in religious beliefs do not necessarily mean that men of various faiths cannot unite to support integrity in office and a common political ideal.

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CERTAIN weaknesses that have been disclosed in recent months in the headlines and by the painstaking Douglas subcommittee point to needed reforms of an institutional sort. The general idea of a well-defined ethical code for men in office has much to commend it. There are things which conscientious men in office do not do; yet to spell them out in explicit terms provides a legal basis for action against representatives who fall short of this ideal.

One of these areas has to do with private business interests. A Congressman would be less able to prepare a sinecure for himself in private industry if he were forbidden to accept employment with a firm with which he has been dealing in an official capacity for at least two years. A ban should be placed on an ex-Congressman's appearing as a lobbyist before a Committee on which he has once served.

The dollar-a-year man presents a unique problem. In many instances his willingness to serve in such a capacity springs from sincere patriotism. But even then he cannot help being of a somewhat divided mind as long as he remains on a company salary. It would be preferable all round if he were to go on the government payroll and sever his company connection as long as he remains in Washington.

Of all the practical suggestions in the Douglas report none is more fascinating than that of providing public support for election campaign expenses. This would not only take the form of free radio time which would be exacted of the stations as part of their license fees, but it would also compass certain franking or free mailing privileges. It might even extend to appropriations for campaign expenses that would have to be minutely accounted for. These and the many other institutional reforms advocated in the report would make abuses more difficult.

But unless the spirit of the electorate is aroused the results will be strictly limited. It is on the local level that this revival can best be brought about. What is most needed is dynamic civic action taking the form of non-partisan local committees whose function would be to inform.

They would be at peak activity at election times, publishing the qualifications and connections of each candidate for local, state and national office appearing on each voter's ballot. They would be scarcely less generous with information at primary time. They would analyze issues as well as candidates, comment on the arguments of the campaigns and generally see to it that the citizens in their purview know what they are voting for and against.

To undertake such a task in one's community or region requires initiative, energy, tact and courage. It means enlisting a number of fellow-citizens of a similar bent—a difficult but quite possible task. There are many Americans for whom living merely for one's self has lost its charm.

It is an increasingly common experience these days among people who have undertaken any grass-roots group activity to find companions-at-arms eager to grasp an opportunity to accomplish something in concert with their fellows.

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FROM ITALY

The Question of Sex Education

IT IS no secret in Rome that some of the clergy are divided on a very important matter. Their division does not imperil the unity of Church teaching, but it is important and it reflects a division within the whole Catholic world; it has to do with education and, in particular, with the sex education of youth.

Among the clergy, as among laymen, there is a traditionalist and conservative approach that is particularly strong in Italy and in Spain; those who take this view of the matter maintain that it is best to let the bear sleep as long as possible, since there is no danger of his not waking up one day.

On the other hand there is a more modern and progressive approach, often described as the "leftist" approach, which is particularly strong in France and above all in Belgium; those who take this view maintain that it is increasingly difficult in our Western world to let the bear sleep, since the young are literally drowned in sex—in literature, the press, advertisements, films and television—and that it is better to counterbalance this in time with an appropriate and detailed instruction. Otherwise, it is said, the children cannot but get their first instruction from other less appropriate sources; it is also thought to be important to guard the young against a particular danger before which they are defenseless if they are ignorant of it, and that is homosexuality, which seems to be increasing in many countries.

★

THERE is no doubt that the "leftist" approach has steadily gained ground in the last few years, basing its appeal on such important documents as the encyclical "Divino afflante spiritu" of 1947 and a famous pastoral letter of Cardinal Suhard's, the late Archbishop of Paris. The Catholics have by no means gone as far as many non-Catholics have, in Scandinavia for instance, where they go in for collective sexual instruction in the schools, sometimes on a compulsory basis, and even for the instruction of small children given in the form of nursery rhymes describing every anatomic and physiological detail; this has recently been done in Sweden and it is the equivalent of a sort of strange sexual indoctrination. The reaction of the children is characteristic; a small Swedish boy of seven, after having learned that the story of the stork is a fairy tale, is reported to have exclaimed with a disgusted expression: How *can* that be!

Following the previous Church teachings on the matter, as contained particularly in the two encyclicals of Pius XI, "Divini illius" of 1929 and "Casti connubii" of 1939, those who took the "leftist" approach said that sexual instruction should never be given collectively, in schools for instance, but only individually. The conservatives did not altogether agree; they said that while sexual instruction was to be given individually, it should also be given somewhat differently in each case depending upon the person; instruction, they said, should employ a special terminology characteristic of Catholic sex instruction in all countries, which should be such that to one who has already received information from other sources, it says everything, but to one who is not informed, it says no more than necessary and thus does not excite one's curiosity to know more. It amounts to a kind of two-leveled education.

★

IN FACT, the over-all difference between the two approaches has largely been one of gradation. A turning point between the two came September 18 last, when the Holy Father received in audience a group of French fathers. He unexpectedly took a position in favor of the conservative approach and strongly attacked a certain propaganda among Catholics, the authors of which perhaps do not even know the evil they do. It is a literature the declared aim of which is the sexual instruction of youth, but which in reality only competes with pornography, shrouding itself in scientific garb and exaggerating the sexual factor as an end in itself. The Holy Father went on to stress that sexual instruction to the young was never to be given collcetively, that is in schools, but only individually and from cases to case. His conclusion was that knowledge in itself is not a protection for the young boy or the young girl; it is necessary to develop a firm character further strengthened by supernatural grace. Rather too little sex instruction than too much.

It is obvious that the speech has to be seen against the background of the so-called scientific literature on sex and married life which has had an enormous commercial success, particularly in French-speaking areas, in the wake of Catholic-sponsored publications like, for instance, *Cahiers de la jeunesse* and *Convergences* of Lyon. In many respects this literature can be compared with the same literature in Northern Europe, even if it does not go so far as to indoctrinate small children.

The speech has aroused the old controversy again between the followers of the two approaches and it seems as if the "leftists" will not consider themselves defeated. The gradation of sex instruction in different social surroundings, in different countries and among different races is still the center of the discussion.

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IN ORDER to prevent misunderstandings in these discussions, the question has been put: What is the aim of sex instruction? A clear distinction has to be made between the Christian point of view, which considers virginity a good in itself and a favorable preparation for a happy and solid family life, and the material-

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istic and utilitarian point of view, which considers sex instruction only as a means of helping the young man or the young girl to avoid having children before they are married or as a means of instructing them about prophylactic measures for avoiding venereal diseases.

In a Swedish film of a couple of years ago, which was shown in many European countries, (Sweden is a pioneer country in sex instruction) the two thoroughly sex-instructed principals, a young man and a young woman, both became infected with venereal disease; the girl went at once to see a doctor and was cured, whereas the young man did not and had to be brought to a hospital for a long treatment. In one scene the girl, pretty, fit and cheery, comes to visit her poor boy friend in the hospital and she sits at his bedside as an example of justly-rewarded virtue, making a bright contrast to the young man in his bed who was justly punished for not having gone to the doctor in time, in spite of his early and complete sex instruction.

Such a purpose for sex instruction obviously has nothing in common with the Christian approach, but too often the two are mixed up, creating all sorts of misunderstandings. The question is therefore: Is knowledge an appropriate means for achieving the Christian aim of sex instruction? Both the conservatives and the "leftists" agree in denying it at least in principle. Knowledge is not appropriate and not enough. It stimulates the imagination and creates a curiosity for applying the theoretical knowledge.

In Germany during the war, in a clinic for venereal diseases, there were two departments, one for soldiers and one for prostitutes. The two divisions were strictly divided. But almost every night the soldiers broke into the women's department and were contaminated again. Their theoretical knowledge, made more vivid through a personal and painful experience, was not even sufficient to serve as a prophylactic means of saving them from a new infection. If knowledge is not sufficient for grown-ups, not even in this case, how could it be a moral protection for youngsters in the most difficult and delicate period of their lives, as far as sex is concerned?

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SO FAR, the followers of both approaches agree at least in principle. But here the "leftists" make the objection: a young man or girl who does not know is a pure fiction in our days, if he or she is not deaf and blind. It is impossible to let the poor bear sleep: he is almost sleepless. That is why a "counter-instruction" has to be attempted, not too early, not collectively but individually, case by case in order to place sex in its proper context and counterbalance ordinary and "scientific" pornography. They recognize too the justification for the slogan: rather too little than too much. But where the gradation is concerned, they say diplomatically that the conservatives might be right in Italy and Spain, but things have to be slightly different in France and Belgium.

GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN.

SO THEY TELL ME

'Patriots' and 'Controversial Figures'

EMERGING, as I have recently, from Margaret Coits' eloquently and wonderfully written study of John C. Calhoun, I find it difficult to see in any present American politician such clarity of thought, such profound, unaltering conviction anchored so safely in logic, such a defiance of the normal Amercian philosophy of pragmatism as will bear legitimate comparison with that of Calhoun. This in part, of course, derives from the fact that Calhoun had worked out theories of government which were made as consistent with his intellect and temperament as they were in harmony with the facts. In consequence, of all the men who lived politically between 1820 and 1860, few of whom are now worth reading about, no one is so nearly of permanent interest as he.

In all fairness it is necessary to say that to possess a whole philosophy of government was easier for him than it is for us. The call on pure faith is greater for us than it was for him. Though his was an age of tension and of conflict, it was, compared to ours, a period of mannered and of mirrored calm. Our lives are deluged by new facts hitherto unguessed at. New circumstances rise behind our backs before our vision has quite settled on the old. What seemed a tidy solution for one problem disentangles like a ball of string, and where we had thought structure was, is only tyranny of looseness. Dogmas are being riddled to pieces in the slashing winds, and nothing is more evident than that it is easier for us to put sentinels over the past than to erect specific programs for the present and the future.

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FLAME leaps across the whole of the East, and we draw back from it in ignorance and in flight. There are no precedents for us, and there is no equipment ready to hand which we can use comfortably to deal with it. The fact is that few of us were prepared for it in advance. Thus it is, it seems to me, that the great moral crime of the Republican Party in the United States is that they are unwilling to admit that simple proposition, and that they have forced their opposition into refusing to admit that it once was wrong. For the Republicans who are on the attack leave the impression that error of judgment is to be identified with simple treason. Philip Jessup finds it incomprehensibly necessary to point out that he was part of the America First movement in order to defend himself against a wholly false charge that he was a Communist. I write "incomprehensibly" because I find it difficult to think that one should believe that such

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an admission would elicit praise. It is less a measure of the man than of the taint in our political atmosphere, that one should find it necessary to disclose what, ordinarily, he would hope would lie concealed. Yet men who will accept this admission as evidence to prove what Mr. Jessup is not, find no difficulty in charging still that Mr. Roosevelt dragged us into war and sold us out at Yalta.

The fact is that the pasts of many of us ingloriously trail behind us. Few of us were as wise as we now pretend to be, and few of us are honest enough to admit it. What I find most frightening about our current political life is that by falsely claiming wisdom, we persecute those who were not necessarily wiser than ourselves, but who performed acts we did not then condemn. I submit that the Republican Party is not by this conduct either reforming the past, or equipping us to deal with the future.

I submit that when the current leading candidate for the Republican nomination can seriously, and I must presume honestly, state the chief political issue before Americans as being that of "liberty or socialism," he is being as purblind and as incompetent as he has, in foreign affairs, without exception proved himself to be. I submit that such an opposition blatantly ignores the major question of our time. Mr. Arnold Toynbee has posed it this way:

> How is the depressed three-quarters of mankind going to set about the stupendously difficult task of gaining the benefits of civilization? Now that the hundreds of millions of peasants are aware of the relative well-being of the Western peoples, nothing is going to stop them from setting out to reach a goal which the West seems to them to have reached already. And no doubt only trial and error are going to make them aware of the difficulties in their path which are glaringly manifest to Western eyes.

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I SUBMIT further that out of the debate now being prepared with such calculation, the deliberately reckless use of parts of documents, the claims that the truncated documents prove what they so clearly controvert, the emotional appeal for aid to men now dead and unresponsive to the use of their famous names, truth cannot come, if only for the single reason that truth is not being sought. What is being sought is power. It is enough for those who seek it, like the Butlerites in Maryland, only to raise doubt. They are unable to prove what is contended. It was the contention of Lord Acton that power corrupts. Now we are witnessing corruption even before power is held—the mere desire for it being already corrosive in itself.

The President of the University of Pennsylvania emerges to prove a case he cannot prove. He has made a charge with respect to our relations with India that for sheer intellectual dishonesty and recklessness, is matched only by the McCarthy allegations about General Marshall. It reposes in the same *oubliettes* reserved for what is purely unjust. But Harold Stassen wants to be President of the United States. Right now he seems to be willing to settle for being Vice President. He has staked his claim. He has performed his doubtful service for those who can give him what he wants. "Liberal" Republican that he is supposed to be, he has aided in stopping the nomination of General Eisenhower, whose respect for Philip Jessup is well known. Thus stands revealed the "patriotism" of our patriots. Aiding the Taft candidacy is a way you choose to weaken "Communism," thus defeating General Eisenhower, who is obviously spreading it in Europe. The Machiavellian character of some of the testimony offered by politicians before investigating committees ought not, it seems to me, to be allowed to escape us.

One of the curious results of this new form of political maneuvering is the creation of the "controversial figure." This is a phrase used by Senator Smith of New Jersey to explain his refusal to vote for Philip Jessup. It is Taftian language, and Mr. Taft used it in his attack on Mr. Chester Bowles, now our Ambassador to India. It was the alleged contention of Senator Taft that Mr. Bowles ought not to be allowed to go to India because he made enemies and was a controversial figure. On that ground Mr. Taft ought not to go to the White House. Unless his mirror, like the queen's in the child's story, tells him that he is the fairest one of all, it cannot have been kept from Mr. Taft that he has not unanimous support for his ambition. American history stirs with controversial figures from Jefferson to Roosevelt.

★

THERE is something subtly Machiavellian about the phrase, 'giving one an opportunity to have his cake and eat it too.' The charge against Mr. Jessup was, and is, that he had what Senator McCarthy called "an affinity for Communist causes." That was the whole of the charge. Clearly there rested on the accusers the obligation to make that charge stick. Obviously they were unable to do it. So Senator Smith, who, unlike some of his colleagues, heard all of the testimony, found that the McCarthy charges were as groundless as the charge that General Marshall is an evil conspirator. Senator Smtih explicitly admits this:

> I have known Philip Jessup for many years, and I have absolute confidence in his integrity, ability and loyalty to his country. I am convinced that he has not and never had any connection with the Communist Party.

Yet the Senator votes against Mr. Jessup because he has "not got the confidence of our people." How the Senator knows this escapes me. But if it is true it is because McCarthy brought charges against him which are so demonstrably false that Senator Smith explicitly repudiates them. Thus Senator Smith turns the charges away with one hand, and accepts them with the other.

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This is worse than not letting your right hand know what your left hand is doing. The unproved charges make men lose confidence in Mr. Jessup. You aid the man making the unproved indictment by accepting the consequences of the indictment.

It was natural that Senator McCarthy should praise this curious casuistry by saying that the Jessup rejection represented "a great day for America and a bad day for the Communists." The one conclusion is as exactly logical and truthful as the other. It all must make Mr. Jessup wonder whether it is worse to be left in the hands of those who have "absolute confidence in your integrity," or in the hands of those who bear tar brushes; to wonder what is the distinction between enemy and friend.

FRANCIS DOWNING.

The Stage

A SLEEP OF PRISONERS

CHRISTOPHER FRY'S new play is in the fashion of his earlier short religious pieces—"Boy With A Cart," "Thor With Angels"—and, from a theatrical point of view, inferior to the brillant commercial comedies he has given us in the meantime. This is not to say that he has spared himself in the quality of the writing or in the intensity of his purpose, only that the natural limitations of the allegorical form and the natural bent of Mr. Fry's own talents work against the success of the present venture.

Mr. Fry is essentially a comic poet—his chief distinction is that he has found a contemporary verse form in which robust humor is possible—and he is at his best in exuberant word-play. As a writer of solemnities designed for church presentation, he is no match for T. S. Eliot: he hasn't the precision of philosophical thought which distinguishes the abstractions of "Murder in the Cathedral," and he hasn't those ground swells of melody which tide things along whenever the philosophical going gets too rough for theatrical consumption. When the comic poet devotes himself to an exalted subject, he is likely to come out a little bare, and Mr. Fry does. The words are fresh enough and the ideas are sound enough, but these things do not fuse in a rising emotional line; they become comments rather than invocations. While they have the power to interest an audience, they are unable to move it, and "A Sleep of Prisoners," for all its accuracy of observation and frequent pithiness of thought, emerges as a mere intellectual exercise.

The play is concerned with the despair of modern man, and the causes for it. As symbols, Mr. Fry has concentrated on two men: David King, who believes that the world can be saved only by immediate and ceaseless action, even when the plan of action is not clear; and Peter Able, who, in the absence of a clear plan, does not feel up to acting at all. David's despair is due to the fact that the action he takes never seems to solve the problems of the world, and Peter's is due to the fact that the clear plan of action for which he is waiting never seems to materialize. The position of each is explored, both sympathetically and unsympathetically, in a series of dream sequences: the man of action is at one time Cain, King David, and Abraham; the man of inaction is Abel, Absalom, and Isaac. Thus the opposing points of view are rounded, and matched. Unfortunately, they are never resolved. A final dream sequence dismisses the direct, and dramatic, relationship between them in an effort to show them as more or less equal victims of a failure of faith—perhaps the man of action should seek more guidance, perhaps the man of inaction must bring himself to act on faith—but the conclusion is not concretely illustrated on the stage, and it is not firmly rationalized in the speeches. David comes to see that "to be strong beyond all action is the strength to have," but this is, in its context, a muddy equating of David's final position with something like Peter's earlier one, and Peter's ultimate realization of *his* error is never made clear.

The usual penalties of the allegorical form are here in abundance. The characters barely begin to have a life of their own when they are forced to do the author's bidding in a series of illustrative transformations. The play barely begins to move in an exciting direction when it must stop abruptly, turn in its tracks, and restate the initial premise from a new point of view. And the language, sometimes direct and incisive, must ultimately give itself over to generalization and even platitude.

The actors make the best possible case for the play, and Mr. Fry is in their debt. Leonard White, Donald Harron, Stanley Baker, and Hugh Pryse bring it a varied vocal reading and a vigorous physical drive which results in frequent flashes of genuine intensity. Michael MacOwan has directed with a constant stress on open theatrical excitement. But in the end all of this must be swallowed up by the mistiness of a play which has its heart in the right place but is never quite able to put its foot down. (*At St. James Church*)

FAITHFULLY YOURS

THE season is having a terrible time trying to get its laughs. Ladislaus Bush-Fekete and his wife, Mary Helen Fay, have come up with a vacant and strained farce about psychiatry which Robert Cummings is trying to parlay into something respectably funny, but even Mr. Cummings' willingness to work himself into a state of nervous exhaustion cannot save it.

The premise for the play is one of those bald inversions of normal expectancy which the French sometimes manage to carry off on a semi-fantastic comic level, but which the Bush-Feketes, who adapted this one from a piece by Jean Bernard-Luc, have simply beaten to death. A happy young housewife—penthouse, to be entirely accurate—becomes embroiled in psychiatry to the degree where she believes her husband's fidelity to be abnormal. She thereupon pushes him onto at least three other women, only one of whom is much interested in the prospect, in the hope of relieving his neurotic condition.

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There is, perhaps, the material here for a revue sketch, and Mr. Cummings is playing it as though it were a revue sketch, but expanding such idle whimsy into a full-length evening would require far more wit, detachment, and sophistication than the authors exhibit any capacity for.

Except for Mr. Cummings, the proceedings are devoid of fun. Ann Sothern, as the wife, has considerable charm and would seem able to play any part within reason, a category which does not include this one. The balance of the company is efficient but without the kind of lines which would enable them to be anything more. I am, therefore, much in favor of what Mr. Cummings has resorted to: an onslaught of takes, double-takes, falls, bounds, and flailings. He is accomplished at this sort of thing, and if it has very little to do with the art of acting or with the character he is asked to play, it does at least indicate an honest concern for the audience's pleasure. Somebody had to do something, and he did it. (*At the Coronet*)

BUY ME BLUE RIBBONS

JAY ROBINSON, producer and star of "Buy Me Blue Ribbons," has described the play as 'a travesty on the theatre,' a statement with which it is impossible to disagree. Mr. Robinson is twenty-one years old. That is young, but it is not young enough to excuse the embarrassment he has caused his fellow performers, his audience, and the professional theatre to which he aspires.

Last season Mr. Robinson — *Master* Robinson — financed a production of "The Green Bay Tree" with the intention of playing a leading role himself. During rehearsals, he was quite sensibly—it now turns out—dropped from the cast. The irony of the situation appealed to the young man, and he somehow or other induced Sumner Locke Elliott to write a play for him recounting the experience. He would, of course, be precisely right for the leading role, and that seems to have appealed to him, too. Anyway, "Buy Me Blue Ribbons" is that play—I feel it is going to become known as *that* play—and in it Mr. Robinson is giving one of the most disturbing exhibitions of combined egocentricity and masochism in the history of the New York stage. Mr. Robinson does not seem to be very talented.

By some strange quirk of overconfidence, he has surrounded himself with exceptionally talented people, people who very nearly make the play come to some sort of comic life whenever the star can be persuaded to leave the stage. Enid Markey, who may be my favorite actress, is wonderfully addled in the conventionally-written part of the boy's mother, Audrey Christie is as slick as ever, and Vicki Cummings parodies a weary star with great skill. Mr. Robinson must be a persuasive young man to have brought these attractive people into his vehicle; if he had persuaded just one more—some promising young comedian—to play his own role, he might have wound up with a mildly amusing stock farce. (*At the Empire*)

WALTER KERR.

The Screen

PASTED IN THE SKY

IN *The Red Badge of Courage,* Stephen Crane ends the gory chapter describing the death of the tall soldier with this sentence: "The red sun was pasted in the sky like a wafer." John Huston, who directed the fine movie made from Crane's fine novel, tries like everything to capture all of Crane, including sentences like that, and he has produced an outstanding war movie, one that ranks with the best. But in trying so hard to retain all of Crane, Huston gets just a touch arty every now and then in his film; and the total result, while impressive for its adherence to truth and high standards, is less like a realistic visualization of war than a rarefied study of a study.

The movie has been perfectly cast. Audie Murphy plays the youth as if he were living every moment of the role, suffering every step as he advances against the enemy, wondering if he will stay to fight like a man or if he will run in cowardice. (I met Mr. Murphy recently and I was surprised to find that he has in real life the same boyish face and fresh, polite attitude that he displays in the movies. It is almost incredible that this youthful, untroubled face belongs to the man who won so many medals in World War II.) Equally youthful and naive in mien is Bill Mauldin, who plays the loud soldier—cocky and explosive but no braver than our leading character, who returns to battle after running away and then stays to fight with the best of them. As the tall soldier, John Dierkes makes the death as startlingly vivid as Crane described it. And the sun is there too, but your own poetic mind has to see it pasted in the sky like a wafer.

Director Huston does everything he can to alert the poetic images that your mind brings to this movie. The good script which he wrote uses as many Stephen Crane quotes as possible; the music is in keeping with the whole piece and the Civil War atmosphere; and Harold Rosson's photography of troops marching through the misty morning, fighting in the dusty afternoon and bivouacking in the cold, frightening night is stunning at all times. But *"The Red Badge of Courage"* is by no means a poetic glorification of war. It is a piece of war in the spring of 1862, a reminder of what war is like—especially to a youth (most of the characters do not have names) who went into battle a boy and came out a man. We know what this youth goes through (mainly through the changes of expression on Audie Murphy's face) as he fears that he will be afraid ("I never killed a man before"), as he runs away from battle and regards the wounded with envy, as he sees his friend die, as he returns to the strife and din, as he fights like a hero with a vehemence that overcompensates for his former softness. We experience battle with this youth and we learn with him that there is no sharp line dividing fear from

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bravery or the men in blue uniforms from the men in gray. It is only the uniforms that are different, not the men.

★

THERE are several other new films having to do with war, none of them up to the calibre of "The Red Badge of Courage," but some of them may be of special interest to you. *"The Desert Fox,"* produced and written by Nunnally Johnson from Desmond Young's biography, is unusual as a movie in that Mr. Johnson expects you to come to it well informed with the facts about its central character: Field Marshal Rommel. Little of the film takes place in Africa, where we might expect most of the action; but it concentrates on the thwarted revolution against Hitler, and it gets awfully involved in politics and plot that aren't always easy to follow. Most of the characterizations are excellent, especially James Mason as the famous German general who won praise from Churchill for his part in the conspiracy, Leo G. Carroll as Von Rundstedt, Cedric Hardwicke as Dr. Strolin, Eduard Franz as Von Stauffenberg, Jessica Tandy as Frau Rommel. Luther Adler makes Hitler as weird and unbalanced a person as he must have been. But in spite of these good portrayals, the film seldom gets very exciting; and you wonder what its makers really had in mind.

★

IF Luther Adler's performance as Hitler sends you scurrying for more, you can see Mr. Adler playing dual roles in a thrilling melodrama called *"The Magic Face."* Portraying Hitler *and* a famous actor-impersonator, Adler swings into great style when the actor poses as Hitler's valet, bumps off the Dictator and then proceeds to impersonate the Fuehrer and throw a monkey wrench into the plans for winning the war. Although Hitler certainly acted like a madman at times, I'm not sure that I approve of this plot's implication that we won the war by a fluke. But as a melodrama, "The Magic Face" doesn't have a dull moment.

★

A MORE conventional war picture is *"Flying Leathernecks,"* which uses Technicolor photography of fighting in the South Pacific and a good cast to show our flying Marines in action. As the seemingly heartless officer who sends his men on missions from which they don't always return and as his younger officer who bravely calls him to task, John Wayne and Robert Ryan carry on a feuding situation that we have seen in several modern war films. This one compares well with the others and even does its cross-section of enlisted men well. If you'd like to see another movie about a tough commanding officer who doesn't win friends but does influence his men in the right direction, then this is for you.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

My Book on Therese Neumann

By HILDA C. GRAEF

WHEN I wrote my book *The Case of Therese Neumann* it was clear to me that it would arouse controversy, as I was taking a rather unpopular view of the strange happenings at Konnersreuth. I thought I had made it clear that my mind had in no way been made up on the subject when I began to investigate it, and that I reached my conclusions only reluctantly. Some of my reviewers seem not to have believed me when I said so in the book; but it is indeed the case, as could be proved by the correspondence between my publishers and myself.

Readers of my previous book, *The Way of the Mystics,* will surely realize that I am not a "pseudoscientific rationalist" as some critics seem to think, but that I am as ready as any believing Catholic to accept miracles and the marvels God works in the souls of the mystics. But I am not prepared to accept extraordinary phenomena, wherever they may happen, as supernaturally caused, on mere hearsay. In fact, the recent warnings from Rome, as well as the age-long practice of the Church, prove that such a cautious attitude is not only permissible, but indeed commendable.

Now I fully agree with my adverse critics that my chapter on Therese Neumann's fast is somewhat weak—in a second edition which, I think, may become necessary at some future date, I hope to remedy this. In the meantime I would only say that the fact that Therese—on the grounds that she must obey her father, as against her bishop and the Holy Office itself—has refused to submit to a second investigation despite the urgent admonitions of the ecclesiastical authorities, must be considered suspicious. She also wrote a ten page letter to her bishop—the letter is in the episcopal acts at Regensburg—to excuse her disobedience. This in itself would seem a none too reassuring sign, especially as the bishop did not accept her excuses but from that time (1938) dissociated himself completely from the case. He was followed in this by Cardinal Faulhaber who, on one occasion, when Therese's devotees attributed an improvement in his health to her prayers, wrote a letter couched in the sharpest possible terms forbidding the circulation of such groundless rumors.

But, it is objected, she has the stigmata, these deep wounds going right through the hands and feet. Now this description is false. Therese's wounds are on the surface only; in fact anyone who has ever seen them—and I *have* seen them, for they were quite uncovered when I

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spoke to her—must be struck by the fact that they do not look like real wounds at all, but are mere square red surface marks. Still, they are certainly not produced artificially, and they are in the places where tradition says the nails went through Our Lord's body. (I say 'tradition,' for many scholars hold that the nails were actually driven in near the wrists, since, if they had been driven through the palms, the hands could not have withstood the weight of the body.)

Now it is a fact that nearly all stigmatized persons—only a very small number of whom have even been canonized—have had strange medical histories before stigmatization. It may not yet have penetrated into the encyclopedias, from which some of my reviewers draw their arguments, but it has come to be ever more widely accepted not only by doctors, but especially by mystical theologians, that stigmatization is a strange phenomenon which appears, with very, very few exceptions, only in persons whose medical history is characterized by serious nervous disorders. The book of the German Catholic doctor Franz L. Schleyer, *Die Stigmatisation mit den Blutmalen* (Schmorl und von Seefeld, 1948), though I am far from accepting all his conclusions, seems to have proved this beyond a doubt. As I have shown in my own book, these nervous disorders were irrefutably attested in Therese Neumann's case long before there was any question of stigmatization.

One of my reviewers asserts that I admit that Therese has the gift of prophecy, but that I hold to a purely natural explanation. In fact I admit no such thing. I say, indeed, that she displays quite frequently a supranormal knowledge, such as is possessed by many persons with mediumistic qualities; and the best proof of the fact that this knowledge is not caused by supernatural agencies is that it is so very often erroneous. Perhaps the most flagrant case is that of Bishop Schrembs of Cleveland, whom Theresa told many 'secrets' about his diocese, which impressed him so much that, on his return to America, he lectured on her. But he soon discovered that much of what she had told him was entirely untrue, and when he revisited Bavaria he never went to see her again.

This fact, which has been told in Father Siwek's book about her, has been called in doubt by some of Therese's admirers. When I had the honor of being received in audience by the Bishop of Regensburg, Therese's diocesan, in July this year, the bishop remarked in the course of the conversation: "And the Bishop of Cleveland [who is a native of Regensburg] has also been disappointed in her."

★

ONE more reproach has often been levelled against my book. It is that I rely on secondary sources and have not observed her myself for any length of time. This, of course, is true. But I do not think such observation, even if it had been possible—and how could I hope to be permitted to observe her critically, if even the Holy Office itself was refused such facilities?—uld have been very profitable, for I should have been

Cross section of comments on

STARSET AND SUNRISE

a novel by

Nicholas Sandys

"Smut there is none, but sinful living aplenty. A theatrical conversion and one which is forced by the pen of the author may well be charged against the final pages of this book. But this is not the only facet of *Starset and Sunrise* which many readers will fail to understand and appreciate. . . . I think all the illogical and unpredictable elements in this book are precisely the characteristic stamp of the delinquent. . . . (It) will not be a popular seller and perhaps 60 percent of those who do read it will be little impressed. . . . Sandys has done a job which should get more recognition than, I am afraid, it will.—Eugene D. Kelly, S. J. *Catholic Review Service.*

"As Marjorie Chatham would probably say 'Oh, Mr. Sheed, how could you!' . . . The book is 'Box' of the lower variety, and may even be a best seller, but surely not the best seller one had expected from Sheed & Ward!"—C. E. Maguire in *The Pilot* (Boston).

"One of its merits is the satisfying subtlety with which his own contempt for the politics, strut, and false grandeur of the movies shines through Marjorie's enthusiastic account."—Sister Mariella Gable in *The Commonweal.*

"This forthright portrait of the rise of a star has all the suspense and drama of any adventure story . . . in the surprising, inspirational conclusion, Sandys avoids completely the slightest hint of maudlin sentimentality, and he succeeds remarkably well in making his total portrait one that is colorful, realistic and truly believable."—*Michigan City News Dispatch.*

"After plowing through it all until I am afraid I will be writing like an eighth grade school-girl too, I must say the same way the book would say it gave me strictly a pain. . . . The book is about as sexy as you can get without a mortal sin."—Father A. Kolch, *Michigan Catholic.*

" . . . in the form of Marjorie's diary . . . told uncannily well. The style reveals with insight, humor, and consummate artistry, the badly crippled soul of a young girl . . . a wise and honest tale of human weakness, of that little stone humility that the devil turns in vain . . . reveals a sensitive and mature talent, freshly used."—*Books on Trial.*

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shown only what I was meant to see. Dr. Deutsch, who occupied himself with the case several years ago, was reproached for the same lack of personal observation, and I could make no better reply than he. "I admit," he writes, "that it goes without saying, that Therese makes a very deep impression on her visitors. But, if I went there, I would see only what thousands of others have seen, and this visit would not furnish me with any explanation." After all, if personal observation were essential for investigations of this kind, the whole procedure of beatification and canonization, by which virtues and phenomena are investigated solely on the basis of the accounts of witnesses, would have to be held insufficient.

One last point. Some of my critics have accused me of a lack of charity, because I examine Therese's virtues, as far as is possible, from the printed sources. But if a person is practically proclaimed a Saint by her admirers, the first thing to examine *is* her virtue, for sanctity consists in virtue, not in phenomena, however extraordinary.

It seems to me—and it has evidently seemed so also to the highest authorities in the Church—that there is today an unwholesome spirit about that hankers after signs and wonders. Therefore it is all the more necessary to examine the spirits as far as possible. I have certainly no authority whatsoever to pronounce on the personal virtue of Therese Neumann, or of anyone else for that matter. But if one detects in a person held up as a kind of Saint to the admiration of millions, flaws that are, indeed, common to most of us, but that are quite inadmissible in a woman supposed to have been endowed with the highest graces for over a quarter of a century, then it seems to me the duty of a writer to point out such flaws as appear to be there in the interest not only of truth but of charity itself. For it is surely an act of charity to prevent one's neighbor from being deceived by appearances and from placing his trust in the supernatural endowments of a person where these do not, in fact, exist.

I do not think it necessary to emphasize that, of course, the final word is with the Church and that, if the Church should ever make a pronouncement opposed to my views, I should reverse my opinion in this matter without the slightest hesitation. But as long as the Church has made no such pronouncement and hence this case is an open question, I feel justified in applying to myself the words of St. Paul: "Prove all things: hold fast that which is good" (1 *Thess.* 5.21).

Of Note

Catholics and the Social Scientists

IN THE Autumn issue of *Thought,* Fordham University Quarterly, there is an article by Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J. on "Catholic Responsibilities in Sociology." The following is a key excerpt.

Catholics, like most other religious people, may develop something of a resentment against social scientists — a depreciation of them because they seem to substitute social science for knowledge which can come only from Faith or true philosophy. They are "secularists" or "rationalists." They believe that all things can be reduced to empirical investigation and explained by scientific formulae. They come to be pictured as men who seek a "push-button" society; they will learn the mechanisms of life so perfectly that they may release a set of stimuli, and society comes to attention in a predetermined response.

As a result of this attitude, Catholics may take a strange view of many of the best-laid plans of the social scientist. Since he is basing his structure on false philosophy, we say to ourselves, it cannot last; let us sit around and watch the whole thing crash. . . .

There is a strange twist in this attitude of ours. It appears in many a Catholic statement about a thing like the United Nations. Since many of the particulars involved are in error, therefore we do not have to go to the really great effort of working with it since we know it will end in failure.

Now it is perfectly clear that social scientists have given plenty of reason to be called "rationalists" or "secularists." And many of them can be terribly provoking in their ignorance of Catholics and their ignorance of their own bias.

But all too frequently the opposition of these social scientists is due not to any real opposition to the principles of the Church but by an unreasoned obstructionism which they meet in Catholics who do not know what the social scientists are trying to do, or from the obvious contradictions in our behavior which are difficult to explain.

Many of these social scientists are deeply sincere men; many of them are motivated by remnants of a Christian spirit which is still strong in their lives despite their failure to accept the Church intellectually. They will frequently wear themselves down, go to heroic limits of sacrifice to bring a richer life to their fellow men—a perfectly honorable Christion ideal—only to find themselves blocked and criticized by the strong voice of Catholics who, in the first place, have failed to do the necessary job, and, in the second place, seem incapable of understanding what the scientist has in mind.

Again illustrations could be numerous; Japan has a very serious problem of population and many a competent scholar is hard at work trying to find out how those problems of population can be successfully handled. About all they hear from the Catholic public is the strong negative charge: Don't teach them how to practice birth control. It is this loud assertion of negative aspects of Catholic principle, coupled with a failure to apply its positive teaching, that stirs the resentment of the social scientist. Last summer, for instance, an

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American priest was speaking with a priest from Quebec who had just written a strong article denouncing the suggestion that America disseminate birth-control propaganda in Japan. That is a perfectly orthodox Catholic position which any priest would take. But the American asked him, "Father, what positive remedy to the population problem do you suggest?" He answered quickly, "Obviously migration is necessary." The American replied, "Fine, and how many Japanese are you willing to receive here in Quebec?" There was a long silence. Finally he answered, "Well, if they were Catholics, we would receive them." Maybe they would—but there are no signs of a vigorous Catholic policy making that possible.

Naturally, Catholics do not want the number of people to be limited by contraception in India. But certainly the Catholic voice was not noticeably loud in its demand that American wheat be sent to feed those teeming numbers. Yet not a few non-Catholics, aware of the problem, have been laboring hard to find means of lifting those people to a better level of life. They are experts in the field of resources—experts in the field of population—trying to discover the nature of social organization in India to see how it could be modified without causing distress—they are deeply sincere in their efforts, highly competent in their approach—and frequently all they hear from the general body of the Catholic world is the negative warning. Don't teach them birth control. It is this strange contradiction in Catholic life that disturbs the social scientist. We fail to apply a policy to which charity obliges us, and then boldly assert a prohibition which, taken by itself, leaves the problem unsolved. . . .

This resentment against the social scientist, therefore, often stems from our failure to have done what he is trying to do. It stems from the lack of a genuine spirit of scientific inquiry into the nature of actual situations; the lack of a professional competence on the part of Catholic scholars. As a result, this whole state of mind exists among many Catholics. . . . This attitude will be changed once we can take it for granted that the Catholic scholar moves with ease and the conviction of professional competence in his knowledge of the nature of society and its problems.

Once he does this, he will appreciate the ideals and objectives which are often strong in the heart of the non-Catholic. These are often mingled with strange half-truths, false premises, inadequate theories. But the Catholic scholar of competence, when he moves on the same level as the non-Catholic scholar, will be able to distinguish precisely what is right from what is wrong; he will express his distinctions with a sincerity and a sympathy that will command the respect of the social scientist. He will protect the members of the Church from calling common or unclean that which has been cleansed or can be cleansed by the spirit of God.

Third Week

The Commonweal's fight for survival has resulted in scores of letters of encouragement from loyal subscribers and from occasional readers who learned of the magazine's plight in the October 15 issue of *Time*. Such periodicals as the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, the *Living Church*, the *Catholic Messenger* of Davenport, Iowa, *Pittsburgh Catholic* and *America*, have urged their readers to extend a hand.

Moreover, we have had reports of plans to aid The Commonweal in an organized fashion on the part of at least two leading Catholic men's colleges. An outside national committee of Catholic laymen for the same purpose is also in prospect. A number of readers have told us that they are out selling subscriptions. We have received outright contributions of $2,176. The sentiment that The Commonweal must not die is hearteningly widespreead.

The goal of 4500 new subscriptions by New Year's can be reached if the present pace can be maintained. By October 23 a total of 1038 new long-term subscriptions had been received—which leaves 3462 to go to reach our vital objective.

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Books

Capitalism in America: A Classless Society. Frederick Martin Stern. Rinehart. $2.

BY "capitalism in America," Frederick Martin Stern means not only the owners and entrepreneurs of business and industry, but also the workers, the body of social legislation, which has been wrtiten particularly since the beginning of the second Roosevelt era, and what he calls the "atmosphere of equality" —the social-economic mores, attitudes and customs—traceable to the Declaration of Independence. But as Mr. Stern offers his jewel of "mature capitalism" for our inspection, a few of the above facets look rather dull, perhaps because he is too intent on burnishing the American business-industrialist. And some of the flawed sides are never seen.

By "a classless society," Mr. Stern does not mean we have no rich and poor classes in America, or no social strata. These are "unavoidable" class distinctions, made "doubly necessary" by reason of a man's occupational specialty; they are "functional classes." By "classless" Mr. Stern means that we have no rigid, "castelike classes . . . to which a person belongs because he was born into it." In America, we have an equality of opportunity. Everyone has a chance to move out of his functional class and its attendant standard of living.

The proof of Mr. Stern's pudding is in the amount of the pudding. Clearly, we out-produce the rest of the world, we have the highest standard of living of any country in the world. Our economic system, "though often unfair and capricious, has yet to find its equal in providing liberally for the masses."

Now, I have not the slightest desire or intention to belittle the fantastic wealth-producing and distributing achievements of American capitalism. There is no doubt about it, Europe has never come close to the "creative cooperation" of capital and labor in this country; nor have European owners and workers ever come to understand the technique of mass production (although we now hear that ECA will soon have an American-engineered mass production factory operating in Italy to prove that volume production does not mean mass unemployment). Nor is there any doubt that workers are better off in America than they are in the "equality of slavery" in Russia.

Indeed, Mr. Stern's immediate purpose in writing this book is to explode a couple of Communist shibboleths: (1) that the Soviets under the star of Marx are moving steadily forward to a classless Utopia; and (2) that American capitalism, symbol of everything evil in the world today, will eventually crumble and yield to a proletarian society. The author writes seventeen letters to an old-world acquaintance who is flirting with the Communist Party. Mr. Stern is an ex-German industrialist who fled to this country and became an American citizen after Hitler's rise to power. He credits Marx and Lenin with the best of intentions (he shows nothing but contempt for the grabbing crudities of the modern Communist) but spares no punches withal his restrained manner. There is a shrewd passage (on page 87) in which, after discussing the significant separation of economic and political power in America, Mr. Stern writes:

"Let us consider then what the Soviets have done. Instead of separating political from economic power, they have united the two in the hands of a single group of people more firmly than they had ever been united before. They have merely reversed the order: whereas formerly political power was largely wielded by the wealthy, in Russia economic power is now wielded by the political masters. Thereby human equality, or what the Soviets like to call equality, is now achieved on the level of utter servitude."

What are the flaws both in Mr. Stern's picture of American capitalism and in American capitalism itself?

First, Mr. Stern's picture. Although he frequently admits that most capitalists have never been motivated by unselfishness, social responsibility or humaneness, the author concludes: that capitalists, still ignobly moved, have recognized social responsibility as the best (paying) policy; that they welcome labor as their "ally and partner;" and that "many of them, whether or not they regularly attend church, are religious people in the best sense of the word. Confident, and at the same time modest, they represent what I like to call *responsible wealth*."

When our capitalists still take their social-political philosophy from the Chicago *Tribune* (two copies daily on every executive's desk); when an official of John Deere (in my backyard) can trace socially irresponsible individualism back to Christ, Who, he said, brought a new "individualistic" religion to mankind; when another official of J. I. Case (also in my backyard) can say, "If I had my way, I would fire every Case worker who joins a union;" and when the NAM, U. S. Steel, the Committee for Constitutional Government and countless other American capitalists peddle their pamphlets which purport to warn us of the "creeping revolution" of socialism but are really designed to frighten us back to the disastrous days of unlimited, unrestrained free enterprise—and when all of this can occur, as it does, today, Mr. Stern's estimate of the maturity of American capitalists seems considerably premature.

The author may fairly argue that these are single, accidental examples of unenlightened, amoral, immature capitalism. In fact, he does so argue: "What we must consider," he writes, "is whether a system authorizes and encourages injustice and evil, or whether it opposes them, and whether in the long run, it improves the conditions of the less fortunate strata of the nation or tends to depress them still further." His conclusion is that, despite individual aberrations, our system is right and, moreover, that no major reversals in principles are in sight.

This brings me to a second flaw

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in the picture presented by Mr. Stern. Once granted (and Mr. Stern would be the first, I believe, to grant it) that American capitalists as a class have been and remain hostile to progressive social legislation and to organization of workers, then whatever social advances have been made must be attributed to legislators who applied the necessary statutory pressure and labor unions which applied economic pressure. The accrued social gains resulting from both of these pressures have not, as Mr. Stern imagines, been transmuted and absorbed as essential features of the capitalist system. They remain historical events, and as historical, conceivably reversible by a reactionary political administration. The Taft wing of the Republican Party is a constant reminder of the possibility of such a social reversal. I suspect the critical test of the stability of our social progress will come only at the hands of a regressive administration.

Something which Arnold Toynbee considers the "curse" of industrial capitalism, and which he describes as "the spectre of unemployment," is felt by Mr. Stern to be an unavoidable concomitant of mass production "but we are learning to flatten the curves of economic temperature that used to undergo such violent swings. And we are determined to protect our people against the rough climate of economic winter." There is, however, authority in some quarters for the theory that economic security and the problem of depressions have not been solved since 1929; they have only been postponed—by a world war and by the Korean war and the consequent remobilization.

I come, finally, to some of the aspects of American capitalism, some of the major flaws and problems overlooked by Mr. Stern. Ordinarily, one does not hold an author responsible for omitting demonstrations which he had no intention of including in his thesis. However, Mr. Stern's thesis dilates from the modest statement in the title of his book to an early consecration (page 35): "Democratic capitalism . . . has ended (the worker's) economic misery, and has made him the free and happy equal of his fellow citizens." Again: "America has proven that mature capitalism, in its respect for the worth and dignity of the individual, moves in harmony with democracy and can never break faith with it."

In the wake of our "mature capitalism," here are a few of the still unsolved problems which occur to me: (1) the cramped, anti-familial living conditions of workers forced to cluster their homes around the mass-production factory; (2) the removal from human work of human, personal artistry and causality with the consequent blow to worker dignity and worker satisfaction; (3) the mechanization and industrialization of farm life with "corporation farming" now, apparently, sounding the death knell of the family-type farm; (4) the popular attachment to wealth and social prestige which is encouraged by the mass-producer capitalist in search of a mass market, nourished by the advertising agency he employs and hardened by both

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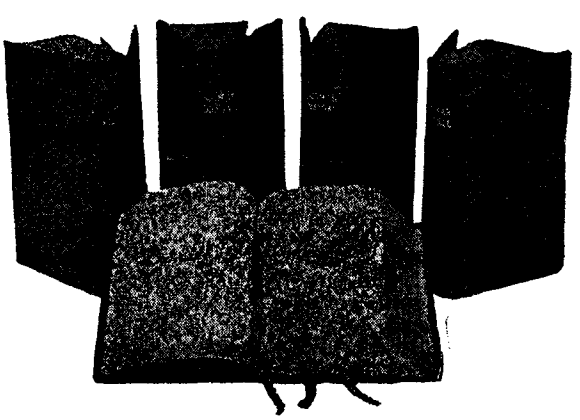

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into a hideous peril to spiritual development; (5) the power of and tension between what Friedrich Baerwald terms "these great groupings of labor and management" who consummate, as he remarks, "wage and profit policies leading to increased inflationary pressures" marking out a "general ascendancy of producers and sellers over mere consumers and buyers," making "special deals at the expense of those outside the negotiating organizations;" and—what is the root cause of this last defect above—the orientation of all organized economic activity to owner-profits and union-worker wages rather than to the common good.

Indeed, nowhere in Mr. Stern's book does he use the term "common good" or its equivalent. And while I do not wish to quarrel with any author over his choice of terms, certainly there is more involved in the "happiness" and "dignity" of a man than the length of his work week and the amount of material goods he can amass this side of eternity.

DONALD J. MCDONALD.

The Face of Spain. Gerald Brenan. Pellegrini & Cudahy. $3.75.

GERALD BRENAN spent over seven years of his childhood and youth in Spain. After his marriage, he and his wife lived in Malaga, where they owned, and still are owned by, a house and a garden. Both he and his wife, speaking Spanish as well as English, have written extensively about Spain. Among other books, Mr. Brenan is the author of *Spanish Labyrinth* and *The Literature of the Spanish People.*

After a thirteen year absence, the Brenans recently toured the length and breadth of the Peninsula, by plane, train, bus, car, and on foot. Mr. Brenan's shining documentary of that tour is also a careful portrait: he is an unpolitical animal, in love with everything in Spain, from the sky above, "high, whitish grey, spreading from horizon to horizon like the wings of a hovering vulture, a vulture whose feathers have some of the luminosity of the doves," to the magenta red earth beneath, whose covering corn is too thin to hide the color of the soil, and whose mountains and rivers complete Pliny's great spread oxhide.

Best, he loves the people, the innumerable waiters in the hotels, as ritualistic as bull-fighters, the black marketeers and brigands, the Falangist lower middle classes and the desperately poor peasants.

Never, says Mr. Brenan, has he been in a country whose citizens were so anxious to express their views on the government. Everyone wanted to talk politics; everyone seemed to think well of General Franco personally but to detest his entourage; everyone longed for a restoration of the Monarchy, but not at the price of another civil war; and almost everyone sighed for the good old days of Primo de Rivera, who seems to have become a national hero and his era a golden myth.

The chief trouble with Franco's Spain, according to Mr. Brenan, is that the dictatorship is weak, not strong. There is famine throughout Spain, but it must not be mentioned

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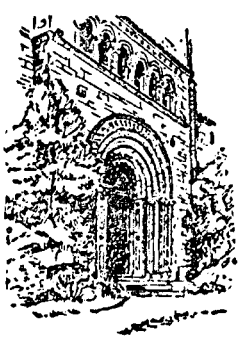

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in the press, and, though this is certainly a bad mark for the Franco regime, Mr. Brenan adds "let us in fairness remember that every other regime, including the Republican, refused to grapple with this problem [of food]. What is needed is a complete reorganization of the system of cultivation of the land, coupled with severe pressure applied to the landowners. And this is something that the present government, weak and discredited as it is, and fearful of making more enemies, cannot do."

There is, indeed, a similar problem wherever the good earth is still the chief source of the livelihood of her children. But in Spain, with a population of only 28,000,000 in an area more than twice that of Great Britain, the problem is not, as in India, Italy, or England, that of the fertility of man competing with his production of food. If anything, there are too few Spaniards, at least male ones, to cultivate so large an area. The cost of living has risen fourfold since 1936, and wages have not quite doubled; the agricultural laborer's wage today is 10 to 12 pesetas (about 55 cents) while the bread ration is 7½ ounces (11 for hard manual laborers) and off the ration bread costs 5 or 6 pesetas—about 28 cents—for a 7½ ounce loaf.

There are many parallels with 1984 in Spain today. The peasants, softened by hunger (was it the Romans who first discovered that a well-fed slave revolts?) have no political or civic importance. The middle classes are all employed by the Government, so must love Big Brother; the aristocracy are divided into the good, who stayed on their estates during the civil war, having nothing to fear from their consciences, and were victims of the Reds, and the bad, who fled, and today are either absentee or are indifferent to the condition of their peasants and workers. So there is poverty without charity, that condition deplored by all Christians since Christ, and particularly castigated by the last few popes.

And it is the Church in Spain which alone is taking the initiative toward improving conditions. Mr. Brenan's testimony is the more valuable in that he is obviously no Papist: his hark-backs to the Inquisition are as damaging as they can very well be, and, surely, it is his ear, not feminine idiosyncrasy, that accounts for the woman with the key of the churchyard at Viznar who prayed aloud in a low tone "Holy and Immaculate Virgin, be with us now and in the hour of our death." But Mr. Brenan cites Dr. Herrera, for example, the Bishop of Malaga, who has influenced the buying of a hundred acres for the building of a model village for working class families, complete with church, dispensary, market, nursery school and sports ground. The seminaries too, he reports, are turning out a "better and more idealistic type of priest." And "many women of the middle classes, appalled by the misery of the poor," are taking the veil in charitable orders. In Cordova the characteristic loose gait of a group of young friars, striding along like so many black flopping birds, causes Mr. Brenan to comment, "It is remarkable how many new recruits the Church has obtained, seeing what a dangerous profession it offers them. In the Cathedral a marble plaque gives the names of eighty-one priests of the diocese who were murdered, during the first weeks of the war. A large number, when one remembers that only a part of the diocese was occupied by the Reds." Also, he considers that too much has been written of the care shown for works of art by the Republicans. "The spoliation of half the churches in Spain . . . represents an enormous artistic impoverishment for the country." Yet, he can also deprecate "the rise of Madonna worship in the thirteenth century" and still more, the mass killings by the Falange.

The figures for these killings he gives are truly staggering, and since neither he nor the casual people to whom he talked seem to have had any axe to grind, there seems no reason to doubt them. In Granada nine or ten thousand; in one village five hundred, in another five thousand. The Red killings were on a smaller scale—but then, *vae victis*.

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for Garcia Lorca's grave—which appeared in the *New Yorker* and ranks with Edmund Wilson's visit to Santayana as a supreme example of modern reporting—and the very funny account of the police spy who followed the Brenans. Mr. Brenan is also no mean art critic, and his comparison of Velasquez and Greco is nearly as good as his comparison of the British and the Spanish peoples.

Commenting on the 'huge animal vitality' of the latter race, Mr. Brenan says it "would be a little crude and monotonous if it had not so often imposed on it a peculiar sort of refinement and melancholy. Those great draughty halls of the mind in which the Spaniards habitually live make it difficult for them to keep out the facts of life or to dope themselves with petty activities . . . the last phase is always in view: the narrow box, the niche in the wall, the train of mourners; the turn of the key in the heart's lock which will shut their thoughts within them forever."

And England? On his return "a thin rain is falling, there is a smell of mackintoshes. As we pass through the packed and sordid streets, about us is a throng of plain, rounded faces that lack the distinction of real ugliness. Faces like puddings that never seem to have desired or suffered. Yet there is kindness and good humor in their little bird-like eyes, there is a sense of reassurance in their soft, creaking Cockney tones." Intellectually and aesthetically, England is a rabidly self-destructive country. For three centuries . . . "our philosophers have been flattening out the hills of the mind, and robbing us of our most precious dimension. From Swift to Huxley our writers have been giving us private tuition courses in self-hatred."

Menospecio de la vida, disdain for life, Mr. Brenan has said elsewhere, is a bell that tolls its way through Spanish history. Perhaps also through English: but, as the safety ads have it, the life that the English disdain is their own, the Spanish, each other's. And both nations grow poets as perennials, and both are apt to see things *sub specie aeternitatis*—a habit which brings out the worst as well as the best in them.

ANNE FREMANTLE.

This Fascinating Animal World. Alan Devoe. McGraw-Hill. $3.75.

MR. DEVOE, one of America's leading naturalists, has written a general volume that is suitable for adults and children. He tells us that as a child he was full of questions about animal life: Does a bird lay all its eggs at one sitting? Do animals talk to each other? Does a bee die after it stings? Through the years he never stopped asking such questions, and he found also that there are many many people just as curious about animal life as he. Mr. Devoe now knows a great deal, and he has developed an engaging literary style, too. His present volume is encyclopedic in its coverage but in tone it reads like a fascinating story should. "Animalizing is a good and happy adventure," the author writes, and he hopes with this book to get others to join him in it.

Last Time in 1951

With the Christmas Season hard upon us this is the last issue in 1951 in which The Commonweal will offer a dollar trial subscription. Hereafter this space will be devoted to soliciting full-year Christmas gifts. Moreover your trial subscription, if entered at once, will include both the Children's and Christmas Book issues.

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